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Editor: R. Palme Dutt

Zero Hour Chance * R.P.D.

New Hope in Europe * Quæstor

At Bandung * Chou En-lai

Einstein's Place in History * J. D. Bernal, F.R.S.

Guatemala a Year Later * A. B. Magil

The Middle of the Road * Sancho Panza

Maxton and the I.L.P. * William Gallacher

June, 1955

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FORCES CALLING

BACK RECENTLY from his trip overseas comes a young man who will be 'in town tonight'—but he won't be introduced thus amongst the dreary procession of American entertainers to Saturday Night television and radio audiences. And if by chance a disc-jockey asked him what Forces Favourite record he would broadcast to the lads he left behind him in Malaya, I suspect it would be 'Home, Sweet Home', just about. And wouldn't they thunder the chorus! Before getting home to his family in Lancashire, the first port of call for this ex-National Serviceman is the East End of London, to meet a lad demobbed before him. Says he: 'I must thank the army in one way at least. If I had not been conscripted, I would not have met this young chap. He arrived out there at a very opportune time for me, when I was becoming despondent about things. Fortunately he was a sincere Socialist and helped me considerably with his intelligent discussions on all things, from trade unions to world affairs. *You see, I've always been a socialist in my views, but I frankly admit a very muddled one. I have always felt that the present (and past) policy of the Labour Party was somehow not true socialism. But* then *I had no idea of the background of this policy, and this resulted in my gnawing feeling of hopelessness:* lack of suitable reading material out there was making it worse. A real solid friendship has developed between us and as he has now been home for the past few months, he has been keeping me informed of events at home. My first call will be to his home. He is a member of his local Labour Party, so I hope I shall meet more people who share our views and aims. It was he who introduced me to *Labour Monthly;* and I can't express my gratitude enough for the clear way the various writers put the problems of the movement (and the future!) and so helped me to see the true state of things, and weigh them accordingly.' This Lancastrian lad had saved up from army pay to renew his subscription until 1957, and 'a small contribution to the fund'. No doubt he ran straight into the closing stages of the election—and well-equipped for judging which candidates could answer the Forces Calling. Of course, there's hard thinking going on amongst these lads, whether their unit is due for 'training in the grim realities of atomic warfare in field', patrolling against 'terrorists' in the jungle or the forests of Kenya, or merely moping inactive 'in the depressing army routine', to quote from other letters. *You may keep their uniformed bodies in the Army, but you can't keep their minds from being on permanent leave at home. The one single slogan common to all the rich variety of lads is Roll on, Demob!* One former engineering apprentice with 'wonderful thought!—only six more weeks to do' recently took out a six months' sub. ('the bit over for your fund, please'). He was an 'old'

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Notes of the Month

Zero Hour Chance

'Much has recently been said about the necessity of a Great Powers' conference at the summit. The idea of such a conference has grown deep roots among the masses of the people, who put into it great hopes, thinking that such a conference might help to improve the relations among States. One must not disregard such feelings. . . . The calling of such a conference is expedient provided that it will really contribute to the lessening of international tension.'

Premier N. A. BULGANIN, speech to the Warsaw Conference for European Collective Security, May 11, 1955.

WORLD history does not wait for elections, but elections can sometimes help to give it a jolt forward. Great changes and developments in the international situation have taken place during this election. These changes have affected the election campaign; and the election campaign has itself played no small

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part in them. The sudden switch of Sir Anthony Eden and President Eisenhower, from publicly proclaimed opposition to an immediate top-level meeting of the Powers, reaffirmed on the very eve of the election, to the hasty sponsoring of such a proposal in the midst of the election, was a very obvious reflection of the pressure of the election and the fear of a swing to the left in Britain. The limitations of a proposal presented under such circumstances are obvious. The war policy of the Western Powers is simultaneously pressed forward, with the bringing into force of the Paris Agreements and the welcoming of the Nazi General Speidel into N.A.T.O. The proposed meeting is hedged round by the terms of the Western Note to make it as short and formal as possible. Hence the question of effective negotiations of the Powers to reduce international tension is by no means automatically settled by the Western Powers' Note of May 10, proposing a Four-Power top-level conference, with President Eisenhower's assent, and the acceptance from the side of the Soviet Union. The fight for serious negotiations has still to be pressed forward. But the conception of such negotiations for a general settlement has now come to the forefront of international politics.

The People's Voice

The role of electoral considerations in this new move of the Western Powers towards proclaiming sponsorship of a proposal which had long been pressed by popular demand against official opposition does not dispose of its significance. On the contrary. The very fact that the proposal was so obviously timed for the election—like the similar speeches of Sir Winston Churchill in 1950 and 1951—is the most powerful demonstration that in the judgment of the shrewd and cynical assessors of public opinion launching it, the supreme and overwhelming desire of the British people is for peace by negotiation and the reduction of international tension in place of the present war policy and division of the world into opposing armed camps. Whatever the verdict of May 26, this significance remains. To this extent British public opinion has been able to make its impact already during the election campaign, to break past the monolithic bipartisan unity of the two dominating party machines in support of the war policy, and to force to the forefront the desire for peace. This is the outstanding fact demonstrated by the election campaign.

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After Ten Years

We have thus reached a very important moment in the world situation. We are approaching the possible prospect of the first top-level meeting of the Heads of States of the Western Powers and the Soviet Union since the war; the first for ten years; the first since the series of Teheran, the Crimea and Potsdam (the very memory of which, Premier Adenauer was boasting only the other day, had been finally wiped out and obliterated by the Paris Agreements). Whatever the initial scepticism and limitations, whatever the dubious calculations of those leaders of the Western war camp who had so long and stubbornly opposed the popular demand for such a meeting, nevertheless the fact that the prospect of such a meeting has now entered into the realm of practical politics represents a very signal step forward, a first step towards the path of negotiation, and can be made the beginning of more. It reflects the further advancing strength of the forces for peace throughout the world during the recent period: an advance which it will be important to examine, and which has found expression in the Afro-Asian Conference, the Austrian Treaty, the new moves of Japan to develop trade with China and with the Soviet Union, and the election of a President supported by the left in Italy. It reflects the overwhelming demand of all the peoples of Europe, and of the whole world, and not least, of the peoples of Germany, France and Britain for a new approach to a peaceful settlement, before the final fateful decisions and actions that could make war inevitable are taken.

At the Twelfth Hour

Only a fool would imagine that any easy way lies open to a successful result. The situation is serious in the extreme. The Paris agreements have been ratified and proclaimed in force. West Germany is in N.A.T.O. The measures for Nazi rearmament are in full swing. The Western leaders up to the present openly proclaim their determination to maintain these war measures with rigid inflexibility, and to present any conference only with an ultimatum of the accomplished fact. It is obvious that any such approach could only make a conference meaningless and sterile before it met. It would be equivalent to a refusal to negotiate. It could only reflect the calculation, openly expressed in certain quarters, to hold a conference, not in order to serve the aim of a negotiated settlement, but to wreck it; to take over the popular demand for a top-level conference in order to kill it; and, on the basis of such a wrecking

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strategy, to proclaim the impossibility of agreement and the justification of the war programme. Such an approach would mean the permanent partitioning of Germany and of Europe into opposing armed camps, with the consequent prospect of a sharpening arms race and eventual war.

A Fresh Approach Needed

It is manifest to every serious observer that a fresh approach towards an agreed settlement, replacing the existing contradictory decisions and sectional arrangements, is the indispensable condition for successful negotiation. It is not enough to ensure the holding of a top-level conference. It is necessary to ensure a policy which can make such a conference a success. We are now approaching the supreme last chance, before the present antagonistic arrangements take on final rigid shape, before the final hardening of the division of Europe and the world into opposing armed camps, to attempt a different settlement on the basis of co-existence and co-operation. A difficult proposition? Yes. Hopelessly utopian? No. The same overwhelming pressure of public opinion, which compelled the promulgation of the proposal in the midst of the election for a top-level conference, can and must be exerted after the election to compel the new approach in policy which could alone make such a conference a success. Whatever the outcome of the election, whether Attlee or Eden occupies the position of office to speak for Britain in any conference (for these Notes, which will be read after the election, have to be written before it), this same pressure will be necessary. And the new Soviet plan presented to the Disarmament Committee, the example of the Austrian Treaty, and the decisions of the Warsaw Conference for European Collective Security, have offered an initial basis for such a new approach towards a negotiated settlement.

Co-operation or Cold War?

What are the issues which would confront such a Four Power Conference? They are known to everyone. The central issues of tension of the present international situation could be counted on the fingers of one hand. First, Germany: the unification of a peaceful Germany, and a peaceful settlement for Europe. Second, the Far East, and the removal of the present war tension in the Far East, consequent on the armed measures against Chinese territory and the exclusion of China from the United Nations. Third, the

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banning of the menace of the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb. Fourth, the reduction of armaments. Behind all these specific questions lies the one supreme issue which at present dominates every question in the international situation. That issue is to end the division of the world into opposing armed camps. To end the calculation of every particular and local question in terms of such a division. In other words, *to end the cold war.* This means to reverse consciously and deliberately the entire tendency which has developed during these ten fateful years since the ending of the war, and which has bedevilled international relations and led to the present deadly dangerous impasse. It means to return to the basis of co-operation which made possible the common victory of the peoples over fascism, and which led to the foundation of the United Nations in order to carry forward that co-operation into the new era after the war and banish the menace of a new war. It is not without significance that the proposal for a new top-level conference arises on the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations. For that anniversary provides the occasion and should be used to review in wider perspective the present controversies; to recall the common purposes which were then universally recognised, and which have since been trampled underfoot; to consider what went wrong; and to see what must be done in order to return to that co-operation which can alone ensure peace.

Ten Years of the United Nations

Ten years ago, on June 26, 1945, the Charter of the United Nations was signed by 50 nations. Fifty nations undertook

> to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind . . .
>
> to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours . . .
>
> to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security.

Peace. Peaceful co-existence. Collective Security. Such were the principles clearly set out. The methods for achieving these aims were no less clearly and firmly laid down. The cornerstone of the edifice was to be the co-operation of the Allied Powers which had won the victory over fascism: the co-operation of the five Great Powers, Britain, China, France, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. This was embodied in the unanimity principle, the formula for which was drafted by the United States and agreed by all. No differences of economic, social or political systems within the united camp of the

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peoples allied against fascism was to be allowed as a pretext for refusing or obstructing co-operation. The association was to be 'open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter'. The responsibility for maintaining peace was placed squarely with the Security Council, to act only with the concurrence of the five principal powers. Regional pacts for pacific conciliation were permitted. But regional pacts for any military action whatsoever, even though professedly for defence, were expressly forbidden, with one exception only. Regional pacts for combined military defence against the menace of revived German or Japanese militarism and aggression were permitted. Such were the firm and clear principles for the maintenance of peace laid down by the Charter of the United Nations and solemnly pledged and accepted ten years ago by 50 nations.

A Grim Record

What has happened to these principles? It is only necessary to survey the record of these ten years to see that every one of these principles has been violated and trampled underfoot—with results which we can see in the world today. In place of the co-operation of the five Powers, there has taken place the very thing against which President Roosevelt prophetically warned before his death as the supreme post-war menace which could 'upset the apple-cart' and defeat the whole purpose of the United Nations—the ganging up of an Anglo-American bloc against the Soviet Union. Before every meeting of the United Nations and international conference the Western Powers have met separately beforehand under the leadership of the United States to hammer out a cut-and-dried policy and present it ready-made for endorsement. If the Soviet Union ventured to disagree, the Soviet Union was accused of obstructing the United Nations. These ready-made decisions would then be railroaded through by an unscrupulous use of an admittedly unrepresentative voting machinery, which was never intended to be used in such a caucus gerrymandering fashion, whereby the 20 votes of the Latin American satellite states, with less than one sixteenth of the world's population, but one third of the votes by states, whose representatives would regularly be lined up beforehand by the State Department to receive instruction, would normally ensure an automatic rubber-stamp majority for the will of the United States, proclaimed as 'world opinion', and in fact representing only a minority of the population of the world. To maintain this uneven

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and unrepresentative balance, the Chinese People's Republic, which should be one of the five permanent powers, is still excluded by the will of the United States, thus making all decisions of the Security Council since 1949 illegal. To maintain this uneven balance in the Assembly, a host of peace-loving states eligible for admission are excluded by the veto of the United States and Britain (for the Soviet Union has only used its veto, in respect of admission, against the admission of one set of states to the exclusion of another set, and has correctly upheld the Charter principle of admission of all peace-loving states, irrespective of differences of social and economic system).

Rubber-Stamp for War

More. The instrument for peace has been turned by these means into an instrument for war in accordance with the will of the United States. The machinery of the Security Council has been illegally used, without the concurrence of the five powers expressly required by the Charter, to sanction the aggression of the United States armed forces (already set in motion by order of the United States Government in advance of the illegal rubber-stamp 'decision' of the Security Council) together with other imperialist powers for the invasion of Korea, without even the pretence of hearing both sides in the dispute to judge the facts. When the Security Council could no longer be counted on for such purposes of aggression, owing to the consistent peace role of the Soviet Union, the Assembly has been illegally constituted a warmaking body with powers of deciding action for war by caucus majority votes, although such powers are expressly excluded from the Assembly by the Charter and can only be determined by the Security Council. In place of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations and states guaranteed by the Charter, overseas military bases have been established by the United States in the majority of the countries of the world. In defiance of the express prohibition under the Charter, regional and sectional military pacts and alliances have been constituted under the leadership of the United States, not against the menace of a revived German militarism (the only form of regional military pact permitted by the Charter), but including rearmed German militarism, and extending through the North Atlantic Treaty, the Middle Eastern military pacts and the South East Asia Military Pact, with military staff organisation and warmaking powers independently of the Security Council. Thus in place of collective

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security, as laid down by the Charter, the Western Powers have revived the evil nightmare of sectional military alliances, the proved path to war.

Collective Security or the Hydrogen Bomb

By all these methods through these ten years a bulldozer has been driven by the Western Powers through the Charter of the United Nations in order to clear the path for war. The United Nations has been turned into its opposite. As Stalin warned in 1951:

> The United Nations Organisation, created as the bulwark for preserving peace, is being turned into an instrument of war, into a means for unleashing a new world war.
>
> The aggressive core of the United Nations is represented by ten member-countries of the aggressive North Atlantic Pact and 20 Latin American countries. The representatives of these countries now decide the fate of war and peace in the United Nations. . . .
>
> As a matter of fact, the United Nations Organisation is now not so much a world organisation as an organisation for the Americans, an organisation acting on behalf of the requirements of the American aggressors. . . .
>
> The United Nations Organisation is therefore taking the inglorious road of the League of Nations. In this way it is burying its moral prestige and dooming itself to disintegration.
>
> (J. V. Stalin, interview to *Pravda*, February 16, 1951.)

The restoration of the United Nations could only be achieved by a return to the method of co-operation of the Powers, to the principle of collective security, to the principles of the Charter—the path of peace. The abandonment of collective security by the Western Powers inevitably leads to the disintegration of the United Nations—the path of war. In place of collective security the peoples of the West are now offered as their supreme 'defence'—the Hydrogen Bomb.

The Cancer at the Root

What went wrong? How did this transformation and distortion of the United Nations take place? It is commonly said by the apologists of Western policy that the actions and attitude of the Soviet Union after the war disappointed the hopes of co-operation and compelled the Anglo-American powers to form a separate bloc and build up their organisation for military action outside the framework of the United Nations Charter. An examination of the historical record would prove that the allegations against the Soviet

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Union are in no case borne out by the evidence; the activity and role of the Soviet Union in the United Nations has been thoughout in the strictest conformity with the principles of the Charter. The truth is the opposite. The formation of the Anglo-American bloc against the Soviet Union did not begin after the war, as a result of actions of the Soviet Union after the war, as is falsely alleged by the apologists. It began already during the war (Churchill's secret Cabinet memorandum of 1942 for a post-war anti-Soviet policy; the Montgomery telegram for arming the Nazis against the Soviet Union, etc.). The preparations for an Anglo-American anti-Soviet bloc within the formal shell of the United Nations were begun already at the founding Conference at San Fransisco ten years ago.

Truth About San Fransisco

While President Roosevelt had genuinely favoured co-operation, and resisted the Churchillian strategy of an Anglo-American anti-Soviet bloc, to the unconcealed chagrin of Churchill, and earning thereby the hatred of the leaders of American reaction, who still pursue him with their venom ten years after his death, influential representatives of the United States at San Fransisco were adopting a very different policy. Listen to the frank account of San Fransisco by the best informed American correspondent there, I. F. Stone, writing in the leading American liberal journal already in May, 1945:

> It is time the American people became aware of what is really going on at San Fransisco. On the public plane a charter is being written for a stable peace. But in private too many members of the American delegation conceive this as a conference for the organisation of an anti-Soviet bloc under our leadership. And it is no exaggeration to say that not a few of them are reckless enough to think and talk in terms of a third world war—this time against the Soviet Union. That this is the basic pattern of the United Nations Conference is the conviction, not of myself alone, but of many astute American and foreign correspondents here and of progressive members of the American delegation and entourage.
>
> (*New York Nation*, May 12, 1945.)

That was within four days of V.E. Day—long before any of the events subsequently alleged by disingenuous apologists as the cause of the formation of the Anglo-American anti-Soviet bloc. The poison was already inserted by the enemies of peace in the cradle of the United Nations.

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Enemies of Collective Security

From this starting point the sequel has followed step by step. The Bevin anti-Soviet tirades of the summer of 1945, which startled the world as the first public proclamation of the new policy. The Churchill Fulton speech of the spring of 1946, which first set out the grand design of the Anglo-American anti-Soviet bloc. The American penetration of Europe, first in an economic guise, through the Marshall Plan in 1947. The American military occupation of Britain, to become the main atomic bombing base in 1948. The open rupture with the Charter through the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949. The illegal war in Korea in 1950. The adoption of the Western super-rearmament programmes, and the announcement of the decision for Nazi rearmament, all in 1950. Already by 1948 Bevin was publicly abandoning the basis of collective security:

> Rather than live in a fool's paradise it might be preferable to proceed by way of regional structures, working with whom we could work, in the absence of a world system of security.
>
> (Ernest Bevin, speech at the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, September 27, 1948.)

The Labour publicist, Hector McNeil, M.P., already by 1947 was openly denouncing the basic conception of the United Nations to carry forward the war-time association which won the common victory over fascism, and which had been in fact officially designated the 'United Nations' long before the foundation of the formal organisation at San Francisco:

> To sigh for a unity of the Powers which fought against fascism was either nostalgic nonsense or dangerous dishonesty. They were no longer the same company of nations who fought, and even if they were, the nature of their task was different and they had parted with their identity of purpose.
>
> (Hector McNeil, M.P., speech on behalf of the British delegation at the General Assembly of the United Nations, September 22, 1947, *The Times* report, September 23, 1947.)

By 1950 Dulles was declaring that in the atomic age the conception of collective security had become obsolete.

Time to Return to Co-operation

Has this alternative path to collective security led to a better world situation? The present state of the world bears witness to the contrary. Armaments are piled upon armaments. Everywhere new overseas military bases of the Western Powers are established.

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Military pacts are added to military pacts in an entangling chain in every continent of the world. The atom bomb is succeeded by the hydrogen bomb. The burdens of rearmament crush the economic life of the peoples. All this is done in the name of 'security'. And at the end of it all no one feels secure. Is it not time to turn to the other path—the path of co-operation and peaceful co-existence? Is it not time to return to the basis of the United Nations and the fulfilment of the principles of the United Nations Charter which could alone bring real security in the present world situation and help to 'save succeeding generations from the scourge of war'? This is the objective which we need to set before ourselves, and which needs to be the significance underlying the first return to a meeting of the Heads of States of the Western Powers and the Soviet Union—recalling for the first time, however fragile and thorny the initial steps of the path, the days of ten years ago (the 'nostalgic nonsense' of Hector McNeil). It is for such a return to co-operation that men and women in all countries are looking.

The Will to Peace

For the disintegration of the United Nations, the wrecking of the hopes of ten years ago, the rejection of collective security and the choice of the alternative path of sectional military alliances, rearmament and war, has not gone forward through these years without the protest of the mass of the people in all countries. On the contrary, the demand for the alternative path of collective security, reduction of armaments, cessation of the wars in progress, peaceful co-existence and co-operation, has sounded ever more loudly every year. Nor has this demand of the peoples been without avail or without fruits. It was the pressure of the peoples, combined with the heroic resistance of the Korean people and Chinese volunteers, which finally compelled the American military and political leaders to abandon their aim of the conquest of Korea and accept finally the armistice they so long sought to resist. It was the unconcealed opposition of the British and French peoples which defeated the American plans last year to organise a combined imperialist invasion on the Korean model in Indo-China. For five years the resistance of the German, French and British peoples has held up the fulfillment of the plans for Nazi rearmament; and the battle is not over with ratification, but reaches to a new height, with the new perspectives for Germany and Europe arising from the example of the Austrian Treaty and the prospect of the Four Power

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Conference. Above all, the powerful will of the non-imperialist nations of the world, representing the majority of the world's population, for peace, has been demonstrated at the unique and historic Afro-Asian Conference held in April of this year at Bandung.

Bandung Conference

There is no parallel in the entire historical record to the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung. The 29 states whose Premiers or other Government leaders took part represented a population in the neighbourhood of fifteen hundred million, or the majority of the world's population. This wide extent of representation could thus challenge comparison with the extent of representation of the still restricted United Nations. Even more significant than the extent was the character of the representation. Here for the first time were assembled on so wide a scale the representatives of nations which had all previously been, and in some cases still were, under imperialist domination. Here was expressed the emergence of the new rising world of mankind, where the old colour-bar domination of the so-called 'Western civilisation' ('free world') will have vanished for ever. Most significant of all was the success of the conference as a mighty united testimony of the majority of the world's population against the imperialist war plans, for national freedom and for peace.

A New World Speaks

In vain imperialism sought at the outset to decry and boycott the conference, to prophesy its failure, and forbid the satellite governments in the area to participate. At the last, in the face of the popular enthusiasm, the imperialists had to reverse their tactics and instruct their stooges to participate in the hope to wreck the conference with disruptive speeches and diversions. This also failed. Thanks to the wise guidance and leadership of Premier Nehru of India and Premier Chou En-lai of China, together with the co-operation of other representatives from the most divers countries, the conference reached unanimous conclusions. The Bandung Conference recorded unanimous decisions in support of the Five Principles of Peace, extended in the conference declaration to Ten Points; for national freedom and against colonialism and racial discrimination; for the prohibition of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons; for economic and cultural co-operation of the nations of Asia and Africa; and on specific questions affecting West Irian,

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Palestine, Aden and the North African nations. The success of the Bandung Conference, with the leading role of India and China within it, was a very powerful demonstration of the new balance of forces in the world, and a weighty contribution at this critical moment to the cause of peace and sanity in international affairs.

New Currents in Europe

Alongside the significance of the Afro-Asian Conference every observer has been compelled to recognise the new currents for peace in Europe, which are examined more fully by Quæstor in the current issue. The example of the Austrian Treaty, establishing Austrian independence and the end of occupation on the basis of neutrality, freedom from entanglement in sectional military blocs and exclusion of foreign military bases, has inevitably exercised a powerful influence on all sections of opinion in Europe, and especially in Germany. Premier Adenauer's policy of tying a remilitarised West Germany to the American-dominated sectional military coalition of N.A.T.O., with the inevitable consequence of making permanent the partition of Germany, arming Germans to fight Germans, and turning Germany into the cockpit of a future war, has less and less attraction for the majority of Germans, when the alternative road is visibly open for unity and independence, freedom from military occupation, and freedom from entangling military alliances. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Chairman of the Social Democratic Party in Germany should have immediately underlined the significance of the Austrian Treaty for Germany:

> The Social Democrats have always held that there is only one solution: a reunited Germany must not be militarily tied either to the West or to the East, but become a partner with equal rights in a system of collective security within the framework of the United Nations.
>
> (Erich Ollenhauer, 'Repercussions of Austrian Agreement on Germany', *Socialist International Information*, May 14, 1955.)

The inescapable necessity of such a solution for the future of Germany, if any solution is to be reached, has even begun to force itself, according to press reports from Washington, on the attention of official circles in the United States:

> It is significant that the idea of an independent reunified Germany within a general European system of mutual guarantees against aggression, to which the United States would be a party, is gaining ground in official circles.
>
> (Washington correspondent, *Observer*, May 15, 1955.)

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The ratification of the Paris Agreements has not settled the future of Germany. On the contrary, the real struggle for the future of a united peaceful Germany has now come into the very centre of the European situation.

Warsaw Conference Agreement

A powerful aid to such a solution for peace in Europe has been provided by the Warsaw Conference for European Collective Security and the pact there drawn up. The Warsaw Treaty and unified military command, while arising as the necessary answer for defence against the menace of a revived German militarism and the aggressive American-Nazi coalition, differs fundamentally in its character from the North Atlantic Treaty. The Atlantic Treaty is not a pact for European defence, but an exclusive sectional pact of certain European states, under the leadership of the United States, directed against other European states. The crucial proof of this was provided by the refusal of the application of the Soviet Union for membership, thereby exposing its true character, not as a defensive pact, but as a sectional military bloc organised in order to divide Europe into opposing camps. The Warsaw Treaty, on the contrary, is 'open to other states, irrespective of their social or government régime' (Article 9).

Towards European Collective Security

The organisation of the Atlantic Treaty is outside the framework of the United Nations. The Warsaw Treaty is completely within the framework of the United Nations:

> 4. In case of armed aggression in Europe . . . immediate assistance. . . . These measures will cease as soon as the Security Council takes measures necessary for establishing and preserving international peace and security.

The Atlantic Treaty is organised as a permanent sectional military coalition dividing Europe. The Warsaw Treaty is explicitly designed by its constitution as a step towards the aim of a unified collective security system for Europe:

> 11. In the event of a system of collective security being set up in Europe and a pact to this effect being signed—to which each party to this treaty will direct its efforts—the present treaty will lapse.

Thus the Warsaw Treaty represents, not only a necessary immediate measure of defence against the menace of a revived German militarism following on the ratification of the Paris Agreements, but

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also a powerful pacific step towards the aim of a united collective security system for Europe, within which a united peaceful Germany could participate.

The Path to Peace

The road has begun to open towards a new approach and a new settlement. There are still heavy blocks and obstacles in the way. We cannot ignore the sceptical, cynical and even contemptuous tone of the dominant official press, in the United States especially, and in Britain also, towards the whole conception of a Four-Power Conference. The American press coolly dismissed President Eisenhower's assent to the Western Powers' proposal for a top-level conference as only a concession to the electoral requirements of British Conservatism ('United States government officials privately haven't any illusions about what is happening. . . . But this isn't the time to stand off and say so. . . . To do it would put a crimp in the election campaign of the British Conservatives'—*New York Herald Tribune,* May 11, 1955). The *Daily Telegraph* editorial of May 11 greeted the Western Powers' proposal 'with grave reservations' ('why is there such enthusiasm on the Left for these talks at the summit? What do they expect the talks to achieve?'). The *Economist* of May 14 complains of 'competitive peacemongering' by the official party leaderships. If such scarcely concealed hostility could be revealed even in the midst of the election campaign, what new obstruction and opposition may not be anticipated once the election pressure is removed? Hence there is no room for illusions. The fight for serious negotiations, for an effective and useful meeting of the representatives of the Powers in order to reach agreed settlements on the issues of international tension, for the supreme aim to replace the cold war by co-operation—this fight is still before us. But the demand for such a new approach is rising on every side. Despite all the difficulties and dangers of the present situation, never have the conditions been so favourable as now for the combined pressure of the people in all countries to compel a new advance along this road.

May 16, 1955. R.P.D.

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NEW HOPE IN EUROPE

QUÆSTOR

ON March 24 the Soviet Government invited the Austrian Chancellor Raab to Moscow, to discuss an agreement for an Austrian State Treaty. Amid a chorus of warnings, sneers and prophecies of woe from the American capitalist press and what British papers were being published, Molotov and Raab met from April 12 to 15, and reached full agreement. Austria was to become neutral, with no foreign alliances: she was to have defensive armaments only: and not to allow foreign bases on her territory: all foreign troops would be withdrawn: she would have expanded facilities for trade with the East as well as the West. On April 19 the Soviet Government proposed to Great Britain, France and the U.S.A. that they should hold a conference with Austria to conclude a Treaty on this basis. The Four-Power conference of ambassadors worked on the Treaty from May 2 to 12, and it was signed by the Foreign Ministers of the four Great Powers, with Austria, in Vienna on May 15.

An immediate consequence of the Austrian-Soviet negotiations was a greatly strengthened demand from the people of Western Germany that they should have the same chance as Austria. On April 2 the *Economist* was sadly recording:

> At a specially convened conference held in Brussels last weekend an attempt was made by Western trade union delegates to persuade the Germans to stop opposing German integration into N.A.T.O. . . . It seems to have had little success.

On April 15 and 16, at Konigswinter, British M.P.s who met their German counterparts at a meeting of the German-English Fellowship 'felt a considerable shock' when they discovered that the Germans wanted 'a deal with the Russians': moreover, that 'the neutralist Social Democrats were reinforced by others of different parties' (*Economist*, April 23). And even after protests and appeals had come from the British speakers, 'led by Mr. Herbert Morrison', all the Germans could say was that 'Germany was really on the side of the West, in every way but militarily'. On April 19, the Social Democrats came out with a full-blown policy of reuniting Germany by agreement with the U.S.S.R.—with only 'limited rearmament'; kept (by agreement between the Big Four) 'within limits which would make it impossible for Germany to launch an aggressive war'.

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Both Germany and her neighbours would be guaranteed against each other's aggression by the Great Powers, within a European Security Treaty.

The Times Bonn correspondent (April 22) wrote that neutralism in Germany had 'grown since the announcement in Moscow . . . it has vast attractions'. German public opinion, continued the *Economist* on April 23, 'is fascinated by the prospect of Austria regaining its freedom'. By May 2 the chairman of the Free Democrat Party was advocating a 'non-Communist, non-Western solution' for Germany, by political and military agreement with the U.S.S.R. (*Manchester Guardian,* May 3).

Meanwhile, Eisenhower on March 20 made a false assertion (one at which, according to *The Times* next day, 'some surprise was felt in London') that 'no progress' had been made in the London disarmament talks. On March 24 the Soviet delegate Gromyko replied by revealing to a Tass correspondent that the U.S.S.R. had gone a long way towards accepting detailed Western proposals for reducing 'conventional' armaments and abolishing atomic and hydrogen weapons by stages. On March 23 Eisenhower had hinted that he was prepared for 'exploratory talks' between the Four Powers with a view to lessening world tension—though *not* at the summit. The Soviet Premier Bulganin on March 26 said he would take a positive attitude to any such proposal. While the spokesmen of the Foreign Office were still talking about their determination 'not to be stampeded into meeting prematurely' (*Daily Telegraph,* April 21); and about Anglo-Franco-American 'conversations proceeding to arrange a programme for work' (Eden in Parliament the same day) Bulganin told Western correspondents that he was ready right away for a meeting of the four heads of governments: 'Ask Eisenhower and Eden about the date. I have made my position clear' (*Daily Telegraph,* April 25). Immediately the Western Powers, at long last, proposed a meeting of heads of governments 'to remove the sources of conflict between us' (May 10), Bulganin said the Soviet Union approved the proposal (May 11)—and details were discussed by the four Foreign Ministers at Vienna on May 14 and 15.

It will be noticed that in each case the change of attitude by the Western Powers came after mid-April—after April 19 in the case of Austria, after April 24 in the case of the proposed Four Power conference. Could it have been a mere coincidence that the Tory Prime Minister, on April 15, had announced the dissolution of Parliament and the opening of a General Election campaign? No,

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it was no mere coincidence: and this can be seen if we look at the other side of the international balance sheet during this period.

First of all comes the final ratification of the Paris treaties for the rearmament of Western Germany (May 5) and her ceremonious acceptance into the two imperialist war blocs—Western Union (May 7) and N.A.T.O. (May 9). Immediately afterwards, as foreshadowed, came the announcement that Adenauer hoped to enrol the first 150,000 volunteers this year. The first practical steps to rearming German militarism for a war of revenge have been taken. In reply came the denunciation of the Soviet Union's war-time treaties of alliance with Great Britain and France, flagrantly violated by British and French rearming of German militarism (May 7); and the conclusion at Warsaw of an eight-power treaty of mutual assistance, including the creation of a single military command, by the socialist countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the U.S.S.R. (May 14).

Thus, as the Soviet Union had repeatedly warned the world, the stage was set by May 15 not only for a policy of reduction of international tension, but even more so for the alternative policy, one of an unparalleled arms race and growth of international tension.

Moreover there were plenty of other signs that the change in the Western Powers' attitude was due to the pressure of events. The Soviet-Austrian negotiations, as mentioned above, had by no means been surrounded with the atmosphere of general goodwill which the Western Powers pretended afterwards had always existed. 'Russia is still bent on propaganda dividends' (*Daily Telegraph* Vienna correspondent, March 25): 'The Western Powers will be reluctant to sit down to a formal Four Power conference (on Austria) before the Paris Agreements have come into force' (*Manchester Guardian*, April 6): Molotov 'is making soothing noises' (*Manchester Guardian* editorial, April 11)—such was the encouraging talk before and during the Moscow negotiations. All the London press was closed down during this period. But an unexpected confirmation of the hostility with which the Western Powers regarded the Soviet-Austrian talks appeared in *The Times*' review (April 21) of what it would have published but for the E.T.U. and A.E.U. strikers. Under the dateline 'April 6' we read the following artless paragraph of its diplomatic correspondent:

> The British, French and United States Ambassadors in Vienna yesterday handed to Herr Raab, the Austrian Chancellor, a tripartite declaration on the Austrian treaty problem. It is time to give Herr Raab a public assur-

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ance of Western support before he leaves for Moscow on Monday. *Herr Raab, it is felt, should regard his visit as a fact-finding mission only, and should not attempt to bargain with Mr. Molotov* (our italics).

How thoughtless of Herr Raab to ignore this peculiar 'support'—which, if he had accepted, would have left Austria still dangling at the belt of her imperialist patrons! How careless of *The Times* to leave this imperishable record of the ill-will with which the imperialist Powers viewed—at that time—any possibility of relaxing tension! Indeed, it took them some time to recover from the shock. 'Austrian satisfaction, but no counting of chickens', was the *Guardian's* surly headline on April 16. 'The optimism of Austrian officials in regard to the treaty is not shared by ordinary Austrians', wrote *The Times* Vienna correspondent (April 22): we are left to guess who these 'ordinary Austrians' were. 'It would be idle to pretend that the formal military isolation of Austria is regarded by all her citizens *or by their friends in the West* as any guarantee of future security', blurted out the *Daily Telegraph* editorial, the next day—this because the Treaty is based on Austria's independence of any military alliances.

Nor are the comments on the Austrian-Soviet negotiations the only danger-signs which should be taken note of. What a contrast there was between the attitude to Four-Power talks before the Austrian-Soviet agreement and Eden's announcement of the General Election, and that which suddenly appeared after it! On March 24 and 25 the *Manchester Guardian* was still publishing articles and letters by Russian whites and other counter-revolutionaries denouncing the very idea of talks with the U.S.S.R.: the *Daily Telegraph* was doing the same for its favourite 'expert on Soviet affairs'. A few days later (March 29) there occurred the memorable conflict between Churchill's view—that there should be at least talk of top-level talks (one day)—and Eden's orthodox Tory view that such talks should be prepared by a long series of preliminary conversations. Moreover, Dulles added his own bit of sabotage, on the same occasion, by saying that Western Germany would have to be in any conversations with Russia (*Manchester Guardian*, March 30). On the very day that Raab was leaving for Moscow (April 11) the *Manchester Guardian* was proclaiming: that nothing positive could come out of talks: 'No agreement on reuniting Germany is likely, none on other divisions with Russia, none on disarmament'. And, as though to underline whence the sabotage of disarmament would come, Mr. Harold Stassen—speaking, of course, as Eisenhower's 'special assistant for disarmament'—gave a warning to American

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newspaper editors 'that the Communists were trying to strip the United States of its atomic weapons. This would not promote peace but "would be a trap door into the most horrible war".' (*Daily Telegraph,* April 22).

Only under the shock of the Austro-Soviet settlement and the swiftly rising revolt in Germany did the Western allies, as already noted, change their tune. But it is well, too, to remember what happened when Eden, now Premier, yet again changed his line on the eve of the dissolution of Parliament (May 6). The day before the dissolution, all the papers came out with the sensational—and inspired—announcement that the British Government was now, after all, in favour of a meeting with the U.S.S.R. 'at the summit'. An 'almost dramatic change' the *Manchester Guardian* diplomatic correspondent called it. It certainly was, and it aroused (according to *The Times* Washington correspondent the next day) 'firm opposition' in Washington. In fact (you can hear the snarl) 'the British move is thought there to have been made for election purposes'. Only very reluctantly, on May 9, did Eisenhower accept the proposal (*Daily Telegraph,* May 11)—no doubt for the reason of which Mr. James Reston, the well-informed diplomatic correspondent of the *New York Times,* had already given advance notice (May 4). The U.S. Administration, he said, wanted 'to avoid any act or statement that would seem to support the British Labour Party charges that the Conservative Government is risking war by its close association with what the Labourites term Washington's belligerent policy'.

Of course, once the election is over, the U.S. Government is released from this unpleasant necessity.

Is it wrong and unfeeling to take this hard-boiled view of the devil turned monk? There are some only too obvious signs that it would be dangerous for the British working class to 'soften up' at this stage. Take the numerous articles about the future Four-Power talks which began to be published, directly it was certain that the talks were coming. More and more insistently the suggestion has begun to appear in them that, in any European settlement, the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe should be handed back to capitalist rule once more. Readers of this journal will recall that this demand was made more than once before—for example in a speech by Eisenhower on April 16, 1953 (*Labour Monthly,* May 1953); and by Nutting, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, when he said on September 28 the same year that any settlement must 'explicitly omit' any guarantees for the People's Democracies

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(*Labour Monthly*, November, 1953). But now it has come up at a time when its very unreality shows that its effect can only be sabotage—for example, in the Paris message to the *Daily Telegraph* (May 11) that: 'there will be no recognition by the West, either direct or implied, that Russia's dictatorship over the East European satellites is there to stay' (double-talk which means that they are not to be guaranteed against German aggression): in a feature article in the same paper (May 13) which asserts that 'we want free elections in East European countries whereas they (the Russians) want an integrated body of Communist nations' (double-talk which means that they would like the working classes of the People's Democracies to be forced to vote themselves back into capitalism): and in the brazen demand made by a feature-writer in the *Observer* (May 15) for 'the dismantling of the satellite régimes' and 'a total reversal of the post-war partition of Europe', as the price for the Americans withdrawing themselves and their bases from our Continent.

The obvious fact—that the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the Balkan People's Democracies will see both Fleet Street writers and their diplomatic inspirers in hell first—should not blind us to the wrecking implications of this campaign, at the new stage of the struggle for a peaceful settlement in Europe which has now been reached.

Then there is the most obvious peril of all, that the Western Powers will suggest that West German rearmament must go on, come what may, as the preliminary condition for German unity—and will reject the oft-repeated Soviet proposals for the unification of Germany into a peaceable State (set forth once again in the far-reaching Soviet draft of a United Nations Declaration on disarmament and elimination of the threat of a new war, which was published on May 11). That this is not merely a remote possibility was shown by a statement of Macmillan in the House of Commons on May 5, and by such Tory comments as that (for example) of the *Daily Telegraph* leading article on May 7, which said that a Soviet proposal for free elections in Germany on condition that the latter was 'effectively neutralised' would be 'quite unacceptable to us'. The great many working-class organisations which have in recent months so emphatically declared against German rearmament and for a peaceful negotiated settlement (the Co-operative Party, for example, which has gone on record in favour of a European Security Treaty for this purpose) will have to be prepared, in short, to say very loudly that any other proposal is 'quite unacceptable' to *them*.

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AT BANDUNG

CHOU EN-LAI

[We print below the full text of the supplementary speech by Premier Chou En-lai, head of the delegation of the People's Republic of China, delivered at the plenary session of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung on April 19.—Ed., L.M.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, FELLOW DELEGATES,

My main speech has been mimeographed and is being distributed to you. After listening to the speeches delivered by the heads of many delegations, I would like to make some supplementary remarks.

The Chinese delegation has come here to seek unity and not to quarrel. We communists do not hide the fact that we believe in communism and that we consider the socialist system a good system. There is no need at this conference to publicise one's ideology and the political system of one's country, although differences do exist among us.

The Chinese delegation has come here to seek common ground, not to create divergence. Is there any basis for seeking common ground among us? Yes, there is. The overwhelming majority of the Asian and African countries and peoples have suffered and are still suffering from the calamities of colonialism. This is acknowledged by all of us. If we seek common ground in doing away with the sufferings and calamities under colonialism, it will be very easy for us to have mutual understanding and respect, mutual sympathy and support, instead of mutual suspicion and fear, mutual exclusion and antagonism. That is why we agree to the four purposes of the Asian-African Conference declared by the Prime Ministers of the five countries at the Bogor Conference and do not make any other proposal.

As for the tension created solely by the United States in the area of Taiwan, we could have submitted for deliberation by the conference an item such as the proposal made by the Soviet Union for seeking a settlement through an international conference. The will of the Chinese people to liberate their own territory Taiwan and the coastal islands is a just one. It is entirely a matter of our internal affairs and the exercise of our sovereignty. This just demand of ours has won the support of many countries. Again, we could have submitted for deliberation by the conference the question of recognising and restoring the legitimate status of the People's Republic

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of China in the United Nations. The Bogor Conference held by the Prime Ministers of the five Colombo powers last year supported the restoration of the legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. And so did other countries of Asia and Africa. Besides, we could have also made criticisms here as regards the unfair treatment of China by the United Nations. But we did not do all this, because otherwise our conference would be dragged into disputes about all these problems without any solution.

In our conference we should seek common ground among us, while keeping our differences. As to our common ground, the conference should affirm all our common desires and demands. This is our main task here. As to our differences, none of us is asked to give up his own views, because differences in viewpoints are an objective reality. But we should not let our differences hinder us from achieving agreement as far as our main task is concerned. On the basis of our common points, we should try to understand and appreciate the different views that we hold.

Now first of all I would like to talk about the question of different ideologies and social systems. We have to admit that among our Asian and African countries, we do have different ideologies and different social systems but this does not prevent us from seeking common ground and being united. Many independent countries have appeared since the second world war. One group of them are countries led by the communist parties; another group of them are countries led by nationalists. There are not many countries in the first group. But what some people dislike is the fact that the 600 million Chinese people have chosen a political system which is socialist in nature and led by the Chinese Communist Party and that the Chinese people are no longer under the rule of the imperialists. The countries in the second group are greater in number, such as India, Burma, Indonesia and many other countries in Asia and Africa. Both of these groups of countries have become independent from the colonial rule and are still continuing their struggle for complete independence. Is there any reason why we cannot understand and respect each other and give support and sympathy to each other? There is every reason to make the five principles the basis for establishing friendly co-operation and good neighbourly relations among us. We Asian and African countries, China included, are all backward economically and culturally. Inasmuch as our Asian-African Conference does not exclude anybody, why could not we ourselves understand each other and enter into friendly co-operation?

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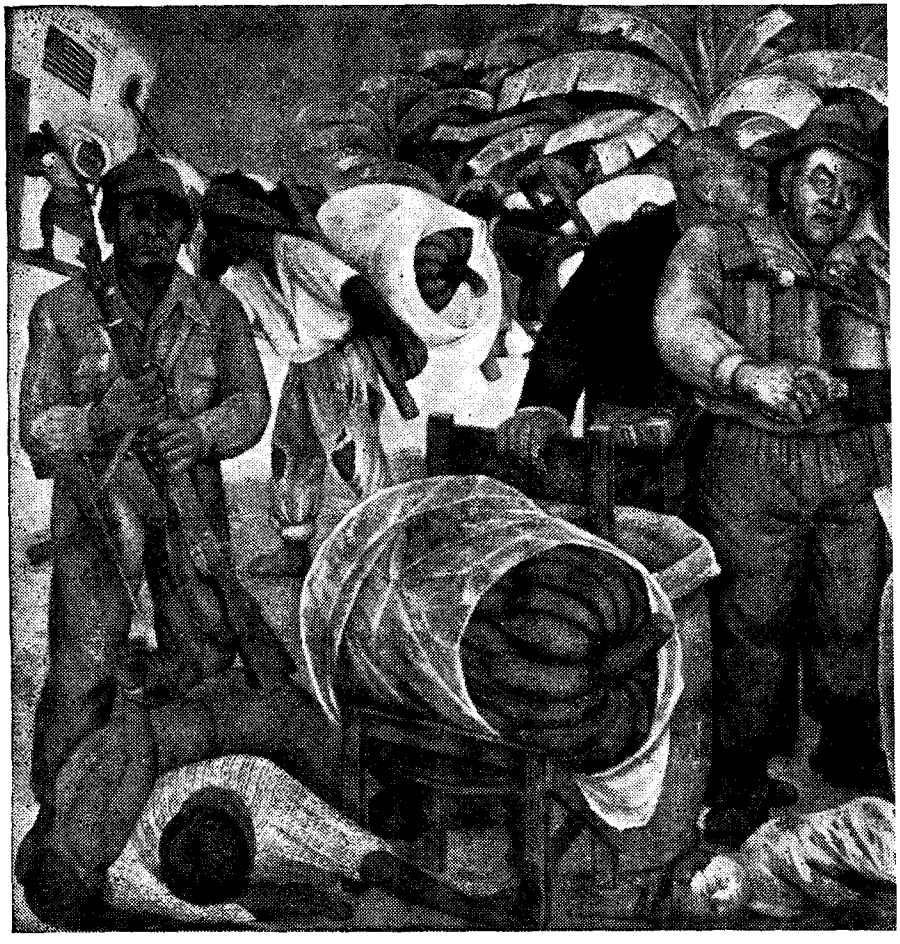
GUATEMALA



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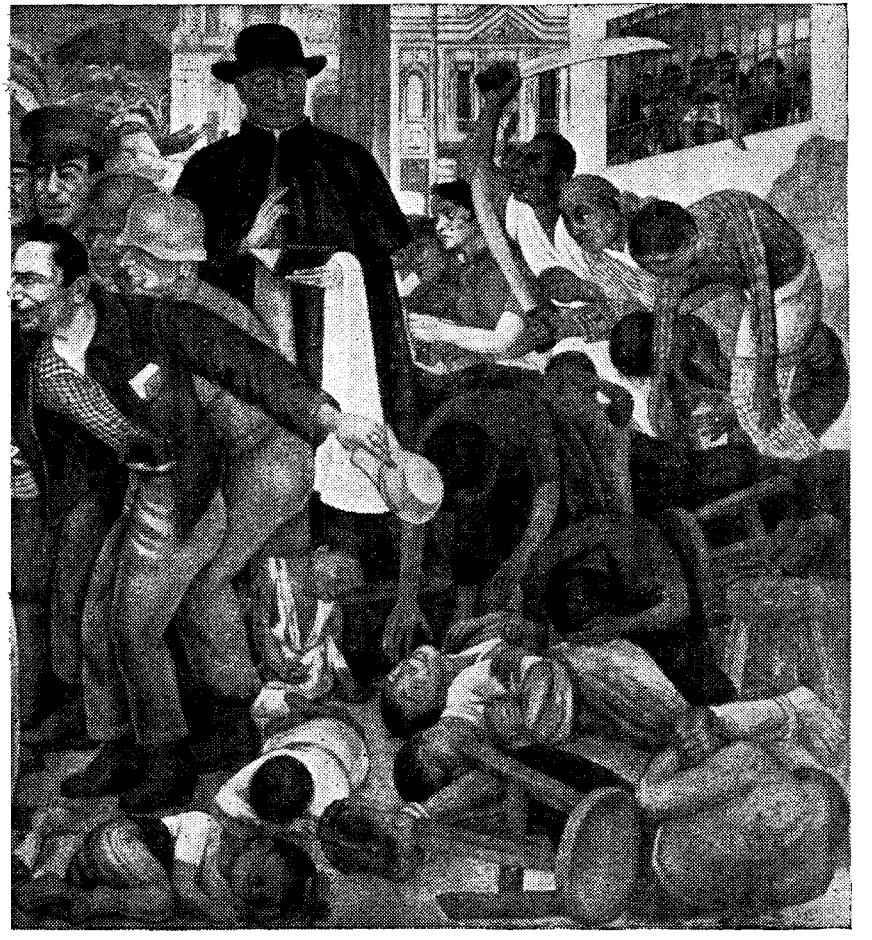
by Diego Rivera



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Secondly, I would like to talk about the question as to whether there is freedom of religious belief. Freedom of religious belief is a principle recognised by all modern nations. We communists are atheists, but we respect all those who have religious belief. We hope that those with religious beliefs will also respect those without. China is a country where there is freedom of religious belief. There are in China, not only seven million communists, but also tens of millions of Moslems and Buddhists and millions of protestants and catholics. Here in the Chinese delegation, there is a pious man of the Islamic faith. Such a situation is no obstacle to the internal unity of China. Why should it be impossible in the community of Asian and African countries to unite those with religious belief and those without? The days of instigating religious strife should have passed, because those who profit from instigating such strife are not those among us.

Thirdly, I would like to talk about the question of so-called subversive activities. The struggle of the Chinese people against colonialism lasted for more than 100 years. The national and democratic revolutionary struggle led by the Chinese Communist Party finally achieved success only after a strenuous and difficult course of 30 years. It is impossible to relate all the sufferings of the Chinese people under the rule of imperialism, feudalism and Chiang Kai-shek. At last, the Chinese people have chosen their state system and the present Government. It was by the efforts of the Chinese people that the Chinese revolution had won its victory. It is certainly not imported from without. This point cannot be denied even by those who do not like the victory of the Chinese revolution. As a Chinese proverb says: 'Do not do unto others what you yourself do not desire.' We are against outside interference; how could we want to interfere in the internal affairs of others? Some people say there are more than ten million overseas Chinese whose dual-nationality might be taken advantage of to carry out subversive activities. But the problem of dual-nationality is something left behind by old China. Up to date, Chiang Kai-shek is still using some very few overseas Chinese to carry out subversive activities against the countries where they are residing. The People's Government of new China, however, is ready to solve the problem of dual-nationality of overseas Chinese with the governments of the countries concerned. Some other people say that the Autonomous Region of Tai People in China is a threat to others. There are in China more than 40 million national minorities of scores of nationalities. The Tai people and the Chuang people, who are of the

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same stock as the Tai people, number almost ten million. Since they do exist, we must grant them the right of autonomy. Just as there is an autonomous state for Shan people in Burma, every national minority in China has its autonomous region. The national minorities in China exercise their right to autonomy within China. How could that be said as being a threat to our neighbours?

On the basis of the strict adherence to the five principles, we are prepared now to establish normal relations with all the Asian and African countries, with all the countries in the world, and first of all, with our neighbouring countries. The problem at present is not that we are carrying out subversive activities against the governments of other countries, but that there are people who are establishing bases around China in order to carry out subversive activities against the Chinese Government. For instance on the border between China and Burma, there are in fact remnant armed elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique who are carrying out destructive activities against both China and Burma. Because of the friendly relations between China and Burma, and because we have always respected the sovereignty of Burma, we have confidence in the Government of Burma for the solution of this problem.

The Chinese people have chosen and support their own government. There is freedom of religious belief in China. China has no intention whatsoever to subvert the governments of its neighbouring countries. On the contrary, it is China that is suffering from the subversive activities which are openly carried out without any disguise by the United States of America. Those who do not believe in this may come to China or send someone there to see for themselves. We take cognisance of the fact that there are doubts in the minds of those who do not yet know the truth. There is a saying in China: 'Better seeing once than hearing a hundred times'. We welcome the delegates of all the participating countries in this conference to visit China, at any time they like. We have no bamboo curtain, but some people are spreading a smoke screen between us.

The 1,600 million people of Asia and Africa wish our conference success. All the countries and peoples of the world who desire peace are looking forward to the contribution which the conference will make towards the extension of the area of peace and the establishment of collective peace. Let us, the Asian and African countries, be united and do our utmost to make the Asian-African Conference a success.

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EINSTEIN'S PLACE IN HISTORY

J. D. BERNAL, F.R.S.

ALBERT Einstein's place in history is secure. He will remain the great scientist of the early twentieth century, an age of decisive achievement in science, full of notable physicists, Planck and Rutherford and the Curies. But Einstein has a special place reserved for those few who at long intervals change the basic ideas of their time; he belongs with Galileo and Newton. Indeed it was because he superseded Newton's central theory of gravitation that he won, early in his life, a popular fame eclipsing that of all the other scientists of our time. That the fame remained and grew till the time of his death is a tribute to his greatness as a man even more than as a scientist. For by 1919 when it burst on the world with the confirmation of his prediction of the bending of light, his major scientific contribution had been made, while his public life as an inspiration and a symbol had hardly begun. In assessing his importance to the world, both the scientific and the political aspects of his work must be taken into account and they cannot be separated. All through his life Einstein was conscious of the atmosphere of social injustice and war and of his own responsibility in combatting them. He regarded his scientific eminence, which he had won early in life, as an opportunity which he could not reject to defend publicly what he felt to be right. It was this that set him apart from and above most of the scientists of his time, who remained content to follow their studies and accept and even share in the dominant prejudices of their time.

The young Einstein had left Germany for Switzerland out of his hatred of militarism in barrack square and school. In doing this he deprived himself of a university education, which proved of enormous value in forcing him to think for himself. Einstein's scientific abilities, from his very first papers from the Patent Office at Berne in 1902, won instant recognition. Even those who disagreed most violently with him had to acknowledge his mastery of physical theory. His success was due to his grasp of physical principles rather than elaborate mathematics.

Many of the great theories that are associated with his name, the principle of special relativity, the photon, the equivalence of mass and energy, were all to be found in the work of other physicists but only Einstein was able to bring them out sufficiently clearly

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to provide something more—a method of thinking which could be used to reach wider and deeper generalisations. In this lies his resemblance to Newton, who also built on the work of others but clarified it and turned it into a system of mathematical mechanics complete enough to satisfy all physicists from his day till Einstein. In this sense Einstein can be seen as the first real successor of Newton. Previously all physicists had used Newton's method while extending its range. Einstein dared to transform it, showing it to be a partial aspect of a wider truth about the behaviour of matter, space and time.

His greatest achievement and the one which was to set the seal on his fame was the general theory of relativity which he put forward in 1915. Ever since Newton's time physicists had accepted the fact that the weight of a body was proportional to its inertial mass—the force needed to set it moving—as a kind of holy mystery. For the practical man it was sufficient to know it as a rule always safe to use. Einstein had the courage to dispense with the distinction between mass and weight and to say instead that space-time was curved in the presence of matter. For him no force was needed to make a stone fall or keep a planet in its orbit; their motions were necessary consequences of the presence of other masses. Even as an explanation of what was already known it was a great clarification but the power of general relativity lay in its ability to predict phenomena such as the bending and slowing of light by heavy bodies and changes of mass at high speed which lay right outside the range of Newtonian gravity. With the high speeds now attained in particle accelerations Einstein's theories have already begun to affect engineering design. A Newtonian accelerator would just not work.

Einstein's guiding idea was a culmination of centuries of experimental physics, the concept of *field* as determining motion rather than *attraction* between points. His conscious aim was to account for all physical phenomena; gravitational, electric, magnetic and quantum, in one comprehensive field theory. He worked on this grand plan for the rest of his life but it remains for others to complete, for the successive solutions he propounded lacked the essential stamp of scientific success, they predicted no new phenomena.

Einstein was, all through his scientific work, essentially a theorist, one who works out the logical implications of an experiment and

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then, from the principles he has laid bare, deduces other experimentally verifiable consequences. His methods were formed in the atmosphere of the end of the nineteenth century, strongly tinged with the positivism of Mach. But Einstein did not follow Mach in denying reality to anything but observations and reducing the external world to mere sensations. He always felt he was discovering in his equations something existing independently of man's thought even if he expressed what was there in a more complicated way than the separable space, time and hard matter of the Newtonian physicists. He would have agreed substantially, even though he probably never read it, with Lenin's dictum:

> From Engels' point of view, the only immutability is the reflection by the human mind (when there is a human mind) of an external world existing and developing independently of the mind. No other 'immutability', no other 'essence', no other 'absolute substance', in the sense in which these concepts were depicted by the empty professorial philosophy, exist for Marx and Engels. The 'essence' of things, or 'substance', is *also* relative; it expresses only the degree of profundity of man's knowledge of objects; and while yesterday the profundity of this knowledge did not go beyond the atom, and today does not go beyond the electron and ether, dialectical materialism insists on the temporary, relative, approximate character of all these *milestones* in the knowledge of nature gained by the progressing science of man. The electron is as *inexhaustible* as the atom, nature is infinite, but it infinitely *exists*. And it is this sole, categorical, this sole unconditional recognition of nature's *existence* outside the mind and perceptions of man that distinguishes dialectical materialism from relativist agnosticism and idealism.
>
> V. I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, from Selected Works, Vol. XI, pp. 318-319.

He never lent himself to the mystifications of physics that were often made on the strength of his relativity theories. Even in relation to the quantum theory, Einstein expressed his preference for the simple *Ignoramus we don't know,* to the dogmatic *Ignorabimus we will never know,* of the proponents of indeterminancy. What he thought of the divine mathematician is contained in his joke that he did not believe in a god occupying himself with games of chance.

Einstein's scientific achievements had made him the acknowledged leader of theoretical physics when he was still a young man. The confirmation of his theory of gravitation in 1919 did more, it struck the imagination of the people of the world. Publicity certainly helped to spread the news but the acclaim of Einstein and his incomprehensible theory was an absolutely genuine one. Everything that people learned about Einstein himself went to support

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the belief that here was a great and simple man who had given a new light to the world. Einstein became a public figure and it is from that point that began the second part of his career, as important in its time as his scientific contribution. Einstein could have become a brilliant social figure or the merely comic, absent-minded scientist which his appearance suggested, or he might have shut himself off in isolation to pursue his scientific work. He did none of these things because there had always been another Einstein with a strong sense of social injustice and social responsibility. He realised, as his friend and biographer, Frank, puts it:

> that the world was full of suffering, and he thought he knew some of the causes. He also saw that there were many people who pointed out these causes, but were not heeded because they were not prominent figures. Einstein realised that he himself was now a person to whom the world listened, and consequently he felt it his duty to call attention to those sore spots and so help to eradicate them. He did not think of working out a definite programme, however; he did not feel within himself the calling to become a political, social or religious reformer. He knew no more about such things than any other educated person. The advantage he possessed was that he could command public attention, and he was a man who was not afraid, if necessary, to stake his great reputation.
>
> It was always clear to him that anyone venturing to express opinions about political or social questions must emerge from the cloistered halls of science into the turmoil of the market place, and must expect to be opposed with all the weapons common to the market place. Einstein accepted this situation as self-evident and included in the bargain. He also realised that many of his political opponents would also become his scientific opponents.

He had not long to wait. The latent anti-Semitism that he had just felt as a schoolboy in Munich, came out in full blast after the defeat of Germany in the first world war. Einstein met it, not by trying to hide, but by declaring himself as a Jew, even as a Zionist. As such he became the symbol both for friends and enemies of the first resurgence of the Jewish people. But Einstein's Zionism was not narrow; first and foremost he was a lover of peace. War appeared to him, as he expressed it in his open letter to Freud in 1932:

> the most insistent of all the problems civilisation has to face. . . . Is there any way of delivering mankind from the menace of war? It is common knowledge that, with the advance of modern science, this issue has come to mean a matter of life and death for civilisation as we know it; nevertheless, for all the zeal displayed, every attempt at its solution has ended in a lamentable breakdown.
>
> *Why War?* 'Open Letters' between Einstein and Freud, *The New Commonwealth,* London, January, 1934. p.5.

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As a pacifist and a Jew he was particularly obnoxious to the gathering forces of the Nazis who abetted every attack on him and his ideas. He never sought for any deep political understanding and he always worked as an individual, not refusing his support to political causes but never taking any part in their organisation.

He never concealed his contempt for the Nazis but he had no calling to be a martyr. One illusion he still held to, a pardonable one in the days of Roosevelt, was that in the United States he could find the peace and freedom that Germany could no longer offer him. His last years in America were spent in the seclusion of the artificial and Europeanised Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton. Despite his cheerful temperament and absorption in science, they must have been years of deep anguish to him. He watched the increasing persecution of his people and the horrible massacres that were almost the end of them in Europe. He saw the war which he had fought to avert becoming inevitable. It was at this time, in August, 1939, when he made, for the best reasons, what was probably the worst decision of his life. It was by his personal intervention with Roosevelt that the project of the atomic bomb was launched to forestall its use by the Nazis.

When the bomb was dropped, he understood the monster that had been created was by no means in the hands of those who could use it wisely. He did not give in but continued in the end to struggle for peace pinning his faith now on the ideal of world government but refusing to be drawn, as were so many of its advocates, into support for the Cold War and the American century. Indeed, he saw increasingly clearly that the America that he had idealised as the land of peace and liberty was being destroyed by the very forces he had met in Germany. And they, in turn, recognised him as a dangerous opponent and, despite his age and eminence, tried to repeat the campaign of slander that had first driven him into exile. He remained indomitable and protested to the end against McCarthyism, against the policy of peace by annihilation. Almost his last statement was the one which he made for our society of Science for Peace, in which he declared:

> The alternative before us is peace secured through a supra-national organisation, or total destruction. This everybody knows today. But it still needs some courage to act accordingly; for such is the nature of man that the interest of today influences him stronger than even the most horrifying aspect of tomorrow.
>
> *Science for Peace* Annual Conference, March, 1955.

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The news of Einstein's death brought everywhere a great and immediate sense of loss. It was not that the creator of relativity had gone: the work was done, he was no longer needed. It was because a great and lovable man and a true champion of humanity had left the field. People may or may not agree with Einstein's theories or with his political aspirations, but there can be no doubt of his noble integrity. He felt he knew what was right and he stuck to it: neither fear nor offers of wealth or power turned him aside. He always gave his best in thought and action. Great as he was as a scientist, he was greater as a man.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

INDO-CHINA: THE REVOLT OF 1930

The recent revolutionary outbreak in Indo-China has thrown fresh light on the situation in the Far East, showing the extent of the revolutionary movement for national independence throughout Asia, and the essential similarity of the struggle against imperialism, whether French or British. . . . As usual the unrest was ascribed to foreign Communist agitators in a peaceful community, but the position of the inhabitants makes it clear that the revolutionary movement is no artificial growth, but arises out of the conditions of these victims of French imperialism. There are 15 million peasants out of a total population of 20 million, and the majority of these 15 million live in a condition of chronic semi-starvation. Early in February the revolutionary movement took on still more significant forms. On February 9 the soldiers of the Tongking garrison revolted, and 200 of them, allying themselves with the revolutionary peasants, attacked the Annamite barracks at Yen Bay, which they succeeded in occupying temporarily, inflicting over 20 casualties and killing five French officers and N.C.O.'s. Reinforcements were promptly sent for from Hanoi, and 'order was restored' with the assistance of aeroplanes and machine guns. . . . It was not until the end of February that the revolt was finally crushed, and then followed the work of 'pacification', which was carried out with the utmost barbarity. Villages were bombed and the inhabitants wiped out in the search for rebels. . . . The reports of the revolt and of the sentences have caused great indignation among the French workers, who are holding demonstrations of protest, demanding the release of the prisoners. . . . It was the social-democrat Varenne who, as Governor-General, used all his powers to suppress the revolutionary masses, and refused all the demands of the workers and peasants of Indo-China.

From *The World of Labour*, June, 1930.

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GUATEMALA A YEAR LATER

A. B. MAGIL

THE *New York Times* of May 2, 1955, published a lyrical editorial on May Day—in Guatemala. In the 'thirties there were certain American newspapers which with equal logic were accustomed to seek their May Day inspiration in Berlin. The editorial spoke of 'parades and mass meetings by the free trade unions'. It moved on to exclaim: 'Guatemala is free, and a leader has quietly fought his way to the top who deserves our support and good wishes'. This leader, who less than a year ago launched with the aid of foreign interests an armed invasion of his own country, 'stands as a shining example of the sort of men contemporary politics is casting up in Latin-American affairs. . . .' For he shunned 'the path of revenge and dictatorship' and instead, 'Senor Castillo Armas chose the steep, thorny middle road of mercy, justice and moderation'.

That the *New York Times* editorialist should be unfamiliar with the reality of contemporary Guatemala is understandable. It is a bit strange, however, that he should be so ill acquainted with the columns of his own newspaper. For example, only six weeks earlier, on March 20, 1955, it published a news item from Guatemala under the headline: 'Guatelama Maps End of Land Reform'. In a characteristic display of 'mercy, justice and moderation' the Castillo Armas régime was 'wiping out the remnants of the agrarian reform of former President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman'. The *New York Times* reported that 'all land would be returned to the original owners and the peasants would have to give it up'.

On February 6, 1955, the same paper headlined a dispatch from Guatemala: 'Guatemala Curbs Workers' Rights'. This reported the abrogation of amendments to the Guatemalan Labour Code—one of the major achievements of the democratic revolution of 1944. The original code itself is more often than not honoured in the breach and employers violate it with impunity.

As for the status of free trade unionism in Guatemala, let us again turn to the columns of the *New York Times*, this time a dispatch in the November 14, 1954, issue headlined: 'Guatemala Edict Curbs Union Men'. The story stated: 'This country's organised labour and peasant movement is still out of action four months after the overthrow of the Jacobo Arbenz Guzman régime'. The paper reported that the government 'has just authorised the functioning

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of the first labour union'. Since November one or two others have received similar authorisation after being rigorously cleansed of all 'subversive' taint. This is what remains of a labour movement which at the time of the overthrow of the democratic Arbenz government last June numbered 500 trade unions.

Some inkling of why there can be no free labour movement in a Guatemala that has once more become a province in the United Fruit Company's banana empire may be gleaned from the November 14 dispatch: 'Before a new union executive committee is approved, the (Guatemalan Labour) Department must get clearance for the new union officials from the official National Defense Committee Against Communism, a secret organisation'. The situation in regard to workers' rights is such that the C.I.O. leadership, who supported the overthrow of the Arbenz government and later sent a representative to Guatemala to co-operate with Castillo Armas and the State Department in establishing a 'purged' trade union movement, found it necessary publicly to denounce the new régime's labour policy. The C.I.O. representative, Daniel Benedict, wrote that 'between 5,000 and 8,000 people have been thrown in jail' and 'The United Fruit-controlled I.R.C.A. (International Railways of Central America), which runs the railways of Guatemala, has taken the lead in the reactionary wave of drawing up blacklists of union men to be fired' (*C.I.O. News,* August 16, 1954.) The March-April, 1955, issue of the C.I.O.'s *Latin-American Bulletin* (published in Spanish) confirms the fact that 'the government has taken additional measures to restrict the labour movement'.

The status of civil and political liberties in Guatemala casts additional light on the 'shining example' of Castillo Armas. In addition to the thousands in prisons and concentration camps, scores of workers, peasants and intellectuals have been summarily shot. Book-burning is another of the blessings that has come to Guatemala, with the National Defense Committee Against Communism and a commission of the Ministry of Education raiding libraries, bookshops and cultural institutions. Among the 'Communist literature' consigned to the flames are works written centuries ago and even books by supporters of the present régime.

Naturally, Castillo Armas has not proved ungrateful, and has signed agreements with both the United Fruit Company and the U.S. State Department—those with the latter including a military pact. The new contract with United Fruit is such a brazen surrender of national interests that when presented for ratification to the National Constituent Assembly, several of the deputies chosen in

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Castillo Armas' rigged elections opposed it and two resigned in protest. It should be added that the 'shining example' of Castillo Armas was less evident to the *New York Times* last October 12, immediately after he had been 'elected' President. It wrote editorially on that occasion:

> Guatemala has just had what could only by courtesy be called an election and a plebiscite. The voters for the most part had to stand before an electoral board and shout 'Yes' or 'No'. In the present state of affairs, so soon after the anti-Communist revolution, it was hardly to be expected that more than a few hardy souls would step up and say 'No' to the candidacy of President Castillo Armas.

Hundreds of thousands are, however, saying 'No' in a different way. Beneath the surface of the uneasy brigands' unity patched together by Castillo Armas, storms are brewing. The resistance of the Guatemalan people to their small-bore Hitler and his Wall Street-Washington masters is growing. The democratic forces have reorganised; among them, actively seeking to unite the people in the struggle for liberation, is the Guatemalan Workers Party, the party of the Communists, whose illegal organ, *Verdad* (*Truth*), circulates despite savage repression. One year after the murder of Guatemalan democracy and independence, the fight for freedom, reborn in the agony of imperialist enslavement, moves steadily forward.

THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD

SANCHO PANZA

> The moral pressures of mid-twentieth-century life are driving more and more of the weaker brethren to one extreme or another. In such dangerous days tolerance may readily be taken for indifference, but despite the pull of spiritual totalitarianism the middle of the road remains preferable to the ditch.—*Gerald Barry.* (Review of Ivor Brown's *The Way of My World.*)

THE modern rules of the road are simply and clearly defined. There is the right and the left. People who use them know where they want to go. But it is not easy for them as the increasing road accidents and traffic delays show. The cause of this is found in the existence of a part of the road which has no rules at all. This part of the road is called 'the middle-of-the-road' and leads nowhere. It is used by a great number of people who do not know or care to know where they are going or where they want to go. Many of them are under the illusion that they are going somewhere.

The middle of the road is a shadow land paved with illusions and wishful thinking and studded with fear. Although there are

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many kinds of middle-of-the-roaders they have a good many things in common such as the mistaken aim of playing for safety in the middle of the road and their disdain of the right and the left. The anarchy of the middle of the road, the endless reeling and vacillation of its population, inevitably impedes the traffic, causes casualties and complicates life. Nevertheless, the middle of the road makes the road look very picturesque. On the right and left we see a stream of highly mechanised purposeful vehicles, in the middle a criss-cross traffic of colourful, strange and fantastic conveyances. We see people leisurely riding intellectual hobby horses, wayward donkeys, ponderous cart horses, head-in-the-air ostriches, fiery fairy steeds. All this intermingled with jay walkers, loiterers and strollers. There are so many of them and they are so proud that they do not mind a bit being squeezed in the traffic or becoming casualties. It's all in the game. The middle-of-the-roaders are not altogether a fixed or permanent category. Sooner or later many of them find their way either to the right or to the left. Mostly to the right.

THE POPULATION OF THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD

There's some difference between Peter and Peter.—*Cervantes.*

Although there isn't much to choose between one middle-of-the-roader and another one can roughly divide them into the following main groups: the politicians, the intellectuals and philosophers, the artistic, the philistines and the ha-has. I shall try to give some distinguishing features of these main groups; but the timid and lonely, the don't knows and the what nots are better left to the imagination of the reader.

The politicians of the middle of the road. There are two kinds of them—the temporary and the permanent. The temporary politicians can be just undecided people who cannot make up their minds. The permanent middle of the road politician is convinced that there always will be a middle way. He is always seeking a middle way and finds it often enough a little to the right. His capacity to see both ways makes him sometimes very tolerant, and allows him to take a paternal attitude to the right and the left. He abhors excesses, but is too much of a gentleman to lose his temper and to go beyond a feeble protest.

The intellectuals and philosophers. These are the cream of the middle of the road. They are 'men of immense tolerance' who have opinions and like sometimes to dabble in politics. They are con-

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vinced that they are the axis of the world and could, if they would, improve our life beyond recognition. They are charming men, fastidious and polite and with a refined moral sense. They have not much patience with the sordid everyday requirements of the life of the people except as statistical material or material for philosophical contemplation. They know no anger, but are gently derisive or mildly censorious when faced with opposing opinions, enthusiasms or other excesses of feeling.

The artistic. To this group belong those writers, poets and painters who take refuge from life in the middle of the road. They are respectable and are usually very bored and very pessimistic and do not care for anybody even for their own middle-of-the-roaders. One shouldn't think that their preference for the middle of the road is a form of protest such as the artists of Rome adopted by bringing out their easels and tables into the middle of the road, to keep the traffic out of their road. As *The Times* pointed out 'one cannot imagine the artists of Chelsea or Hampstead being moved to similar action'. But the middle of the road is not without its poetic sprites who play with balloons and irresponsibly throw brick-bats at all and sundry.

The philistines. How come that the philistines share the middle of the road with the artistic and the intellectual when they ought to be riding on the right? There are many reasons, but the basic reason is that they want to 'keep themselves to themselves' and think that they can do that best in the middle. This desire they share with the artistic and the intellectual middle men, alongside of 'minding their own business' and thinking their own thoughts. The philistine is a self-respecting man who wants to go about his business without interference. He is contented with what the gods have allowed him, provided it is enough to 'keep up appearances'. He does not find much to choose between the right and the left and doesn't 'care a damn who gets in'. He respects his betters, which causes him often enough to leave the middle of the road.

The ha-has. To this group belong a good many reporters in the popular press, some literary and art critics and various experts particularly on the affairs of the left. You can see them strutting in the middle of the road as if they owned the place. You can recognise them by their perverted sense of humour, their inane, superior tone and their ignorance. They are the wasps of the road and 'of all the plagues that heaven has sent, a wasp is the most impertinent'.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD

> The fools and the wise are equally harmless, it is the half-wise and the half-foolish who are the most to be feared.—*Goethe.*

The philosophy of the middle of the road is inevitably a melancholic philosophy as it attempts to reconcile the irreconcilable. This leads to endless contradictions and contortions, to elusiveness, to ethical dilemmas and even physical dilemmas like the attempts to sit between two stools, or to listen to both sides while steering a middle course, or looking simultaneously to the right and the left. It is difficult to pin down the philosophical conceptions and postulates of the middle of the road, but I shall try to do my best.

Objectivism. This means to judge things from all angles and all sides, but not to come to any conclusions. One must be subtle, elusive and vague and ignore any feelings, if you have any. It does not do to be positive. It does not do to have clear opinions, because these may lead to rash actions and might decide you to leave the middle. Those who have clear opinions, especially in politics, are fanatics.

Apologism. Apart from meaning the defence of the middle of the road it means an art to be able regretfully to apologise for all excesses and evils in society and, if possible, whitewash them. It also means an ability to write or to talk without throwing a stone larger than a pebble.

Humanitarianism. This means to be concerned with lofty, abstract aspects of humanity and to ignore, if one can, the everyday sordid aspects of human existence; if not, one must not make too much fuss or noise, but protest more or less inaudibly. A true middle-of-the-roader should be humanitarian either in a very big way or in a very small way.

Escapism. This philosophic conception enables people to take refuge from reality in the middle of the road and to justify it. It is a sad philosophy.

Common sense. There is supposed to be an exquisite 'splendour' (Ivor Brown) in common sense for a true middle-of-the-roader. It is a sophisticated conception assumed to be natural to man and is not to be confounded with 'horse sense'. In plain language it means playing for safety in the middle of the road.

Live and let live. This is a philosophical expression of the sociological conception 'freedom of the individual'. It implies liberty to break the rules of the road or any other inconvenient rules.

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Mind. There is a great deal of preoccupation with the mind in the middle of the road. The aim is to achieve a mind so open that no convictions could find it comfortable to build a nest in it, and so broad, so fair, so just and so unprejudiced that it only recoils when coming in contact with the left.

The politics of the middle-of-the-roaders are governed by their philosophy, which does not permit them to have definite policies. Their political opinions, if you can call them that, are so covered with 'buts', 'neverthelesses' and 'on-the-other-hands' that no glimmer of opinion is forthcoming. Their main political activities consist in playing for safety in the middle of the road by patching, white-washing, compromising, conciliating and looking for lesser evils.

ILLUSIONS AND REALITY

> Thou must note, friend Sancho, that their adventure, and others of this kind, are not adventures of islands, but of thwartings and highways, wherein nothing else is gained, but a broken pate or the loss of an ear.—*Don Quixote.*

The true middle-of-the-roaders are born and bred and will probably pass away in the middle of the road. It is they who cause the severest casualties on the road. They are men of 'vast and varied misinformation' who have built in the middle of the road a great cosy empire of important foggy words, ambiguities, evasions, subterfuges, insipid sentiments and illusions. The greatest and the most devastating illusion in the world today is 'playing for safety in the middle of the road'. It has been proved over and over again that the middle of the road is dangerous, but the appetite of the middle-of-the-roaders for illusions is insatiable. They cannot learn from experience, because they fear reality. They have no confidence in man. They fear action. They fear the future. They fear life itself.

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MAXTON AND THE I.L.P.

WILLIAM GALLACHER

IT is amazing how, after the lapse of a few years, events can be presented, with quite honest intentions, in a very different form from what actually happened. I have attended dozens of meetings where the Chairmen, good Party comrades, have informed the audience that Gallacher was the only man who challenged Chamberlain *when he came back from Munich* waving a little piece of paper and saying it was peace. As this effort of Chamberlain's took place at the Airport and as I wasn't within a hundred miles of where he landed, a challenge on my part, at that stage, would have to have been telepathic. I am reminded of these experiences by the presentation of one or two important events in this biography of Maxton.*

'The Beloved Rebel'—I don't like that sub-title. It smacks too much of a romantic novel. Of course, I know that in every biography there is bound to be an element of romance, but where the author says of his subject, 'I am not saying he was perfect, but I do say he approached perfection more closely than any other human being I have known', it is more than an element. The author should have remembered that he was writing the biography of a political leader: and that thought should have dominated the title. That Maxton made friends everywhere is known to all in the movement. He was intensely human and easily approachable. He had a sense of humour and no 'side'. But what was he as a political leader? On this the author is quite uncritical. It's a pity, for many lessons might have been drawn from his mistakes as well as from his sympathetic approach to the problems of the workers and the divisions in the Labour movement.

But first a couple of mistakes by the author. Maxton's greatest period was not his life in parliament. It was before, during, and immediately after the First World War, including his first years in parliament. The author realises this and he should therefore have been careful to get his facts correct regarding events of this period. Take the famous Lloyd George meeting on Christmas Day, 1915, held in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow. This was described

James Maxton: The Beloved Rebel, by John McNair. (338 pp. Geo. Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

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on the tickets as 'a conference'. But that was a fiction. We are given the impression on page 56 that the Chairman of the Conference 'was Davie Kirkwood'. As a matter of fact the Chairman was the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson who was labour-lieutenant to Lloyd George.

It may be worth while going over the events again as they occurred.

Lloyd George had signified his intention of coming to the Clyde to get the workers to accept 'Dilution of Labour'. He sent for several Glasgow trade union officials to meet him in Newcastle to discuss the organisation of the 'Conference'. Sharp (Boilermakers), Bunton (Engineers), Lorrimer (Blacksmiths), answered the call. They were supplied with tickets which would entitle those who attended to receive 6s. 6d. They got a ready promise from Lloyd George that he would have nothing whatever to do with the 'unofficial' Clyde Workers' Committee. This promise got well featured in all the Glasgow papers. These three leading officials had to call a general meeting of the officials of the Allied trades of the Clyde area. Between 60 and 70 of these officials met in the A.S.E. hall in Carlton Place on Thursday evening, December 23. I was able to attend this meeting and to the horror of Sharp and Co. I succeeded in getting an overwhelming majority against being used as 'ticket distributors' on behalf of an enemy of the working class. The same evening the Clyde Workers' Committee held a meeting of shop stewards in the Central Hall and passed a resolution which we had drawn up the night before declaring in favour of the Conference on our conditions. But we had at that same meeting on the Wednesday evening taken another decision. No shop stewards were to meet Lloyd George if, and when, he visited their factory. He was to be told by the conveners that if he wanted to talk about conditions on the Clyde he'd have to meet the Clyde Workers' Committee.

Lloyd George came to Glasgow on the Thursday morning and his first visit was to Parkhead.. Davie Kirkwood (convener) called the shop stewards together and invited them to go up to the office and meet Lloyd George. Let it be said that he hadn't been at our meeting the night before: Davie had something he wanted to say and he got a majority of the shop stewards to agree to a meeting in the office with the 'Minister of Munitions'. It was at this Parkhead meeting that Davie used the words quoted in the book.

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At Weir's the shop stewards refused to meet him. Between that and the fact that when the officials decided against going on with the meeting the Clyde Workers' Committee got hold of the tickets, he capitulated, broke his promise and asked the 'unofficial' committee to meet him. We did, and put our proposals: Henderson as Chairman five minutes, Lloyd George half an hour, then Johnny Muir for the Clyde Workers' Committee, followed by an open discussion. He wouldn't accept our conditions so he didn't get a hearing.

On page 79 we read of the Auckland Geddes meeting in the City Hall, Glasgow on the 'Man-Power Bill':

> When the platform party arrived pandemonium broke out and there was every evidence of the meeting ending in a riot. After some 15 minutes a stockily built man marched from the body of the hall and climbed on to the platform. . . . This man was Willie Gallacher and what a reception he got. He stood by the side of Sir Auckland and asked his fellow workers to give the man a hearing.

Nonsense. There was no faintest possibility of a riot and I didn't go up on to the platform to get Geddes a hearing but to take the meeting out of the hands of the trade union officials who were in control of the platform. After the storm had gone on for ten minutes, William Fyfe, a member of our Committee, went over to the platform and told the Chairman—Lawson (Joiners)—that if he wanted a meeting he'd have to invite Gallacher on to the platform to take charge. 'We'll get on without Gallacher,' Lawson replied. After another ten minutes Lawson nodded Bro. Fyfe forward and asked him to get Gallacher to come on. We had everything organised with a resolution (quoted in the biography) prepared which the pro-war trade union leaders, who were sponsoring the meeting, would never have accepted. When order was restored I proposed to the meeting that we give Geddes half an hour, take a few questions, then consider a resolution on the 'Man-Power Bill'. This was agreed to and the meeting then followed the lines the author of the biography describes. That this is so is made clear on the following page (80):

> Willie Gallacher had now taken charge of the meeting and put an end to the sufferings of Sir Auckland Geddes by calling upon Arthur McManus to move the resolution from the body of the hall.

That was a great night for the Clyde Workers and a great night for Jimmie Maxton (one of his greatest), the 'platers labourer' who seconded the resolution.

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In connection with the preparations for the 40-hour strike, we get this on page 94:

> A committee was formed in Glasgow with Maxton as one of its leading members and it was decided to attempt to enforce the 40-hour week by calling a strike in the Clyde area.

That is a little bit of fiction. Maxton, like John McLean, was of great value because of his general propaganda, but he wasn't a leading member of the Committee. The Clyde Workers' Committee had the organisation of the strike well in hand, when, on the Saturday before the start of the strike, Shinwell, Chairman of the Glasgow Trades Council, with several other officials of that body came to our shop-stewards' meeting and asked to be allowed to participate in the strike. They were accepted and a small, leading Committee was appointed, half from the Clyde Workers' Committee and half from the Glasgow Trades Council.

The uncritical attitude of the author is to be seen on page 105 when in a reference to MacDonald he says of the speeches of that arch-traitor:

> They were moulded on classic lines as were those of Herbert Asquith, but were illuminated by a warm humanity and a genuine Socialist appeal.

To speak in such a way about a man who betrayed everyone who trusted him, of one who was attracted all his life by the shams of society, displays an almost complete lack of political judgment. This appears also in his reference to Snowden on page 168. He, Snowden: 'had ceased his propaganda missions which made him in the old days "our Philip"—one of the best beloved.' Which made him a Lord, and a traitor to the working class is what the author should have written.

If he is uncritical of MacDonald and Snowden, what can we expect when he deals with Maxton? The story of the I.L.P. and Maxton's leadership is there for anyone to read.

There was a Revolutionary Policy Committee led by Jack Gaster. It wanted the I.L.P. to fuse with the Communists. You must either go into the Communist Party or the Labour Party they argued. Maxton said no, there was an independent role for the I.L.P. On page 235 we are told that in this connection John Paton, the General Secretary, made a speech in support of Maxton's (and the National Council's) line.

> Some of his hearers said later that it was the most outstanding speech he had ever delivered.

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Yet McNair had already written on page 229:

> It was in 1934 that Maxton was again called to the Chairmanship of the I.L.P. Fenner Brockway, who had been Chairman since 1931, became General Secretary again, after the resignation of John Paton in December, 1933.

This great speech was made in 1931: by 1933 he was away to the Labour Party. Some years ago I was told that Fenner Brockway was going to write the Maxton biography. But before he could get going on the job he had left the I.L.P. and gone back to the Labour Party. So have they all gone, one after the other all the close associates of Maxton.

The I.L.P. was led up to a 'blind end'. An almost complete lack of understanding of the laws of capitalist development and the character of the class struggle is to be seen all through its history. The 'Living Wage' campaign and 'Socialism in our Time' were used as shallow, meaningless phrases with no working class content. But worst of all is the publication of the speech made by Maxton when Chamberlain returned from Munich, after callously betraying Czechoslovakia to Hitler. On page 276, the author complains that only one sentence of the speech was given by the B.B.C. and the press. He had congratulated Chamberlain in doing 'something which the common people of the world wanted done'. The 'great section' of the speech in which Maxton cried out 'you cannot get world peace in the capitalist order of society' etc., etc., was left out. Is it necessary to tell the author that the 'great section' of the speech is made up of generalisations that don't trouble the capitalists at all so long as they remain generalisations? They've been used often enough. But on the particular questions, Do you approve of the gross unscrupulous betrayal of Czechoslovakia? Do you believe that giving over that democratic bastion in the centre of Europe to Hitler, helped the cause of peace? These are particular, specific questions, that a Socialist speaker or a Socialist writer should have been able to answer in such a way that they would conform to any Socialist generalisation he may earlier have made.

It is a very attractive book about a very attractive comrade with whom I had many happy associations. It will, I am sure, have an extensive sale and I hope that new generations will not only admire Maxton for his good qualities but will see his failure to develop a real Marxist understanding of Socialism and the class struggle and the dead end to which, as a consequence, he was led.

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Book Reviews

CHRISTIAN ESSAYS

Return to Reality: Some Essays on Contemporary Christianity. Edited by Stanley G. Evans. (300 pp. Zeno. *21s.*)

THE Archbishop of York recently gave his approval to the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb. He agreed with his Conservative friends and patrons that it would be a deterrent against aggression. Thus the most aggressive weapon ever invented, a force of destruction more powerful and indiscriminate than has ever been conceived, a horror weapon that can not only destroy the living but blast the future lives of unborn children—is the means which this high dignitary of the national Church of England approves as an instrument of national policy. It is very well known that, since its adoption by the Emperor Constantine the Great, official Christianity has served as an auxiliary of the ruling class. The Church has been ever ready to bless the policies of the ruling class, and to use its moral authority to persuade people to oppress and kill one another. But never before has this gone to such monstrous extremes as now.

The volume of essays by Christian writers, *Return to Reality*, powerfully expresses the Christian condemnation of such policies which are justified in the name of 'Christianity'. The writers are following the example and prove themselves worthy successors of many who have gone before them, since throughout the centuries the Christian revolt has continued against what is said and done in the name of Christ. And such Christians can surely claim closer kinship with original Christianity than can their reactionary co-religionists. As the essays fully show, the latter cannot reconcile their own views with the sayings attributed to Jesus. These essays all put the point of view that the essential message of Christianity is human brotherhood, peace and goodwill to be realised on earth. They strongly urge that true Christianity entails militant struggle against every manifestation of oppression and injustice. Those in the Labour movement who share religious views will find great strength and encouragement in this book. It well shows how to 'fight the good fight'. And it exposes the essential falsehood and hypocrisy of the Christianity which says that man has sinned past redemption, that nothing is to be gained on this earth but only in a life beyond—and then uses such doctrines to condone or even foster cruelty, greed and exploitation. Those of us who do not require the aid of religion in order

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to fight for the brotherhood of man can learn from this book that differences between a religious and a non-religious outlook need prove no stumbling block in the way of unity in action.

The editor, the Rev. Stanley Evans, contributes the admirable opening and concluding essays. Among the others, the Rev. John Putterill, Vicar of Thaxted, writes of the Christian idea of fellowship, and the Dean of Canterbury contributes a hard-hitting essay on the moral implications of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. The editor, publisher and contributors are to be congratulated on a most timely and challenging book. It deserves to be widely read and discussed. The price is high—but why not ask for it at the local library?

M. CORNFORTH

DOCKERS OF FRANCE

A Gun is Unloaded, by Andre Stil. (276 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. *10s. 6d.*)

THIS inspiring second volume of Andre Stil's trilogy, *The First Clash,* poses the question to us here in Great Britain in the fight for peace: 'Are we doing all we might in view of the magnificent struggle being waged by the French working class, led by the Communist Party?' I am sure it will have this effect on all who read it. Stil describes vividly how the dockers take over a training centre in this small French port, as a means of improving their appalling housing conditions. He writes with warm humanity of Robert, local official of the dockers' trade union, who appeals to them to slow down their work a little because 'tear-arsing' only leads to greater exploitation and cuts in piece rates. Party work, Party members, and the face of the Party; the argument that goes on between local comrades; the mind searching for the reasons and final solution and policy, come vigorously to life. There is the struggle against their own reactionary warmongers; against the American occupiers of French soil; against the lying propaganda put out by the enemies of peace as to why American troops occupy strategic bases in France. Every serious fighter for peace after reading this novel will want to do more than he is now doing.

TED DICKENS

CONTENTS OF PREVIOUS NUMBERS IN 1955

FEBRUARY: *War or Peace in 1955?* R. Page Arnot; *British Political Situation,* John Gollan; *Europe at the Crossroads,* Quæstor; *Nehru and Indian Communism,* Ajoy Ghosh; *The Commonweal,* Wm. Morris; *Depression, Slide or Recession in America,* Sancho Panza; *Friends in Telengana,* D. N. Pritt, Q.C.; *The Spirit of Liberty,* Reginald Bridgeman. BOOK REVIEWS: *Democracy and the Labour Movement* (Essays, editor J. Saville); *A Thousand Lives* (Iris Morley); *The Man Who Never Died* (Barrie Stavis); *Africa, Africa!* (Derek Kartun); *Science and Our Future* (Roy Innes); *Man and the Vertebrates* (A. S. Romer); reviewed by W. Gallacher, V. G. Kiernan, G. Hardy, R. Millner, T.A., D.R.N.

MARCH: *Playing With Fire,* R.P.D.; *Railway Finance and Nationalisation,* J. R. Campbell; *A Plan for Peace in Kenya,* D. N. Pritt, Q.C.; *Rising Revolt Against Adenauer,* Erich Meyer; *Budget in Election Year,* Ronald Francis; *Nehru and Communism, 2,* Ajoy Ghosh; *Social Structure of Britain,* Sancho Panza; *Stalin's Legacy and Britain,* Wm. Gallacher. BOOK REVIEWS: *Anglo-American Plot Against Kashmir* (V. Kumar); *What Happened in British Guiana* (C. Jagan); reviewed by Edward Burton, B.M.B.

APRIL: *H-Bomb, Labour and Communism,* R.P.D.; *Election Prospects,* D. N. Pritt, Q.C.; *Four-and-a-half-Percent,* Maurice Dobb; *From Bangkok to Bandung,* Ivor Montagu; *Now Isn't That Just Too Bad?* Andrew Rothstein; *Olive Schreiner,* Michael Harmel; BOOK REVIEWS: *Science in History* (J. D. Bernal, F.R.S.); *Marxism and the Irrationalists* (J. Lewis); *This Housing Problem* (A. Johnson); reviewed by B. Farrington, P. Fryer and J. Bent.

MAY: *Hydrogen Bomb Election,* R.P.D.; *The Tories' Home Record,* Wm. Lauchlan; *The Labour Party and the Election,* John Gollan; *The New Conservatism,* Sancho Panza; *Press Lords and Strikers,* Angela Tuckett; *Tsarism, Nationalism and Socialism,* Brian Pearce. OBITUARY: Albert Einstein. BOOK REVIEWS: *Dialectical Materialism, Vol. III, The Theory of Knowledge* (Maurice Cornforth); *Aristophanes: Two Plays* (Trans. D. Alastos); *Eastern Europe in the Socialist World* (Hewlett Johnson); *Monopoly* (S. Aaronovitch); *Letters from a Visitor to China* (Joan Robinson); reviewed by Clemens Dutt, Ewan MacColl, Stanley Evans, R.F., I.M.

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Communication

THE MAN WHO NEVER DIED

From Dr. John Takman, Editor, 'Clarté', Stockholm:

With reference to George Hardy's review of Barrie Stavis's *The Man Who Never Died* in the February *Labour Monthly*, a footnote may be appended. Barrie Stavis's moving book makes vivid the life of the poet, songster, trade unionist and human being, but it is an unhappy omission that the author did not till after the completion of the book seek contact with Swedes who knew Joe Hill while he lived in the States. A letter from his sister, who is still alive in Sweden, proves that the name by which he went in the U.S. was not a simple anglicisation of Joseph Hillström, as was believed. His real name, in fact, was Joel Hägglund. He was born on October 7, 1879 in Gävle, in the north of Sweden, worked a couple of years in Stockholm, and emigrated in 1902. One of Joe Hill's closest friends in Salt Lake City was Oscar Larson, trade union pioneer and worker-journalist, who was deported from the U.S. in 1935, and lived in Uppsala till he died suddenly last October. 'How happy I am that Oscar Larson is still alive', Barrie Stavis wrote me last August in reply to a letter from me. It was Larson's intention to write his memoirs after being pensioned last year. A number of letters and other documents in his possession during his stay in the States had been destroyed by the American police in a raid on his home, but his memory of those days was very clear and it is sad that so much precious material has gone into the grave with him. Had Barrie Stavis not assumed at the time he was collecting material for his book that Larson and other associates of Joe Hill's were already dead, he would undoubtedly have added to his fine book a great deal of valuable information that has now gone forever.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

The Colonel Came Late, by Gordon Cruickshank. Gate Books. 64 pp. 1s. 6d.
The Scalpel and the Sword, by Sydney Gordon and Ted Allan. People's Books Co-op Society. 272 pp. 5s.
Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. III. Lawrence & Wishart. 260 pp. 6s.
Seeds of Destruction, by Cedric Belfrage. Cameron & Kahn, New York. 232 pp. $1.50. Collet's, London. 12s. 6d.
The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism, by P. M. Sweezy, M. Dobb, K. H. Takahashi, R. Hilton, C. Hill. Fore Publications. 76 pp. 4s.
Looking Forward, by 19 American Authors, editor Alexander Trachtenberg. International Publishers, New York. 224 pp. $1.00. Collet's, London.
World Chess Championship 1954, by H. Golombek. Macgibbon & Kee. 166 pp. 15s.
Anti-Duhring, by Frederick Engels. Lawrence & Wishart. 546 pp. 8s. 6d.
J. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 10. Lawrence & Wishart. 408 pp. 5s.
The British Working Class Reader, by R. K. Webb. Allen & Unwin. 192 pp. 18s.
British Political Parties, by R. T. McKenzie. Heinemann. 624 pp. 30s.

PAMPHLETS

The Hydrogen Bomb, by Frank Beswick, M.P. Co-operative Party. 20 pp. 6d.
The Right to Live, by Ralph Millner. Kenya Committee. 30 pp. 6d.
Father Michael O'Flanagan: Republican Priest, by Desmond Greaves. Connolly Association. 20 pp. 9d.
Handbook of Citizens Rights. National Council for Civil Liberties. 48 pp. 2s. 6d.
Britons See Poland in 1954. British-Polish Friendship Society. 72 pp. 9d.
1955 Irish Historical Calendar. Cathal Macliam. Irish Democrat. 12 pp. 9d.

Published by the Proprietors, The Trinity Trust, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3, and printed by Wembley News, Wembley, Middlesex, Great Britain. Registered for transmission by Magazine Post to Canada, including Newfoundland.

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subscriber, but when it ran out, and he couldn't afford to renew, the bricklayer friend who had first introduced it sent him a copy each month, for which he paid when he came on leave. To this friend he wrote: 'There's one very important thing I have to thank you for—the L.M. you always sent, because I have enjoyed reading every page'.

Now the real battle that these Forces lads had to fight was against their helplessness, their 'gnawing feeling of hopelessness'; and how they needed help, in all their difficulties, of a weapon in that combat. One thing which became crystal clear during the Election campaign was the need to wage that very same fight at home. Many could see the issues, but they felt bewildered and looked despairingly to see how they could make that tiny scrap of democracy, their ballot paper, express their wishes and ensure their demands. They need other weapons besides the ballot paper: they need weapons always in their hands. Everywhere today plans are being made to strengthen new contacts, new 'real solid friendships' made on door-step and street corner during the Election. Now is the time for readers to get right down to it: make a list *today;* glance back at the April pre-election issue, the May Special Election Number, this June issue. Get it into new hands, and clear the ground for advance. These young National Servicemen found their way under *difficult* circumstances. Their parents need L.M. no less. We shall be only too glad to help readers' efforts, by sending Specimen Copies, by circularising with the Midget L.M. (See the forms on the back cover.) Don't sigh, 'If only we had done it *before* the Election'. Do it now! The need does not stop because the Election is over; on the contrary!

Out of the Van

HOW many interesting letters and items of news I have had to hold over! One I can't miss is from the *Railway Guard,* who found a moment during the Election campaign to send 10s. and 'friendly greetings to the editor and all the fine people who do such a good job running L.M. on this May Day'.

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OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS came from: Rutland Boughton, £1 2s.; 'National Service Man', 4s.; L. G. Hindle, 10s.; N.U.F.T.O. Secretary, 6s. 6d.; C. Walker, 7s.; K. Y. Rintoul, 2s.; J. Buchanan, 2s.; 'R.L.', 10s.; B. Brain, 4s.; D. H. Calcutt, 12s.; A. Geeham, 7s.; J. Nelson, 2s.; T. Hanson, 2s.; A. J. Salmon, 1s.; W. G. Greenslade, 3s.; S. Craven, 2s.; S. Datta, 2s.; J. Smith, 3s.; M. Hookham, 2s.; R. C. Russell, 2s.; W. J. Fairman, 1s.; J. Hicks, £5; E. Addyman, 2s.; J. Brough, 2s.; A. Williamson, 2s.; 'Gazetteer', £2 12s. 6d.; C. Bradsworth, 10s.; H.L.A. (U.S.A.), £16 10s. 8d.; M.C. (Canada), 11s. 7d.; Miss D. (Canada), 7s. 10d.; A.S. (U.S.A.), £1 1s.; G.T. (Canada), 18s.; J.D. (Canada), 7s. 1d.; A.S.L. (U.S.A.), 10s. 3d.; 'Grateful New Zealanders', £2 10s.; C. McWilliam, 1s.

Our thanks to you all.

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